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Rhodesian Nationalist Factions and Leaders

The Rhodesian nationalist movement has been plagu

in the 1950's by tribal and political differences as well as sharp personal rivalries. Since the early 1960's, the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) have struggled for predominance. Despite several attempts to unite the nationalists in recent years, the divisions between these two groups remain at the heart of the disunity which apparently is still hampering insurgent operations today.

ZAPU

Organized in 1961, ZAPU's personnel have come mostly from the Ndebelespeaking tribes, which represent some 15 percent of Rhodesia's black population. The organization has received financial support throughout the years
from Moscow, and small groups of its personnel have gone to the Soviet Union
for military training.

Since its formation, the leading figure in ZAPU has been Joshua Nkomo, a 58-year-old Methodist lay preacher and businessman. By 1964, ZAPU had been banned by Rhodesian authorities and Nkomo was jailed until 1974, The organization was run by exiled subordinates based in the newly independent black states on Zambia and Tanzania. ZAPU was unable to build a strong military

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force, however, and played little if any role during the fighting against the Rhodesian white minority regime during the 1972-74 period.

ZANU

In 1963, Ndabaningi Sithole broke away from ZAPU and formed ZANU. The latter faction consists mainly of members of the Shona tribe, which represents about 70 percent of the Rhodesian population but is a much less cohesive tribal grouping than the Ndebeles. From the outset, ZANU adopted a more militant posture than its rival, and received Chinese support and military training. ZANU guerrillas were responsible for almost all of the operations during the 1972-74 fighting.

Like Nkomo, Sithole was jailed from 1964 to 1974 and his faction was run by others from outside Rhodesia. The 55-year-old Sithole, a teacher and Congregational minister, has been unable to reestablish an unchallenged position within the faction since he was *** released.

African National Council

The African National Council (ANC), a non-insurgent group that operated legally inside of Rhodesia, was formed in 1971 and led by Methodist Bishop Abel Muzorewa. Muzorewa, now 51, had gained stature among the country's blacks by leading the opposition to the Smith-Home agreement, Britain's last

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major effort to negotiate a constitutional settlement with the Rhodesian white minority government.

In December, 1974, leaders of ZAPU and ZANU agreed to a merger under the umbrella of the ANC. The merger and a truce in the fighting were virtually imposed by presidents Kaunda of Zambia, Nyerere of Tanzania, and Khama of Botswana, and ET Samora Machel—soon to become the first president of Mozambique—as part of the presidents' effort to promote a negotiated settlement of the Rhodesian problem.

For all practical purposes the merger fell apart almost immediately, and by last fall Nkomo emerged as head of the ANC inside Rhodesia after a disputed election. With Kaunda's backing, he began the round of settlement talks with Prime Minister Smith which broke down last month. Meanwhile, Sithole and other exiled nationalist leaders, joined by Muzorewa in the "external wing" of the ANC, continued to call for renewed warfare.

Zimbabwe Liberation Army

By the end of last year, Nyerere and Machel were leading a new effort to achieve unity in the nationalist ranks to prepare for another round of fighting.

Their plan was to bypass the long-squabbling political leaders and work directly with the guerrillas under the banner of the new Zimbabwe Liberation

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Army, or "third force." The new group is reported to be conducting the guerrillamental campaign which began early this year in eastern Rhodesia from bases in Mozambique.

Information on the actual guerrilla leaders is sketchy, but it appears
that despite the claims of Muzorewa and Sithole to be in charge of the war
effort, they, as well as Nkomo have played little or no role in planning the
current campaign. Nevertheless, it is clear that long-standing tribal, personal, and factional stat rivalries continue to jeopardize the unity sought

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Dy Nyerere and Machel.

ZANU split is resurfacing among the guerrillas and that the numerically

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stronger ZANU elements may be gaining the upper hand.